5: Flannery E-5 (1940)1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

THE GROS VENTRE SHAKING TENT

REGINA FLANNERY
The Catholic University of America

121 ALTHOUGH the concept of the shaking tent is now known to be a widespread one, relatively few details are available on this rite as it was practiced in the Plains area. The following [115] data, gathered among the Gros Ventres of Montana in 1940 from old and middle-aged informants who had often witnessed the performance, are offered in an attempt to fill in the picture as regards this one tribe.

787 When speaking English, the Gros Ventres refer to the rite as a "seance" and to the performer as a "spiritualist" inasmuch as it was carried out by a person who had access to the spirit of a deceased relative. The Gros Ventre word for spirit is *tsatsuwaa*, which, incidentally, is the same word they now use for radio. The voice of the spirit can be heard, and, while the spirit cannot be seen, its presence is otherwise manifest by the noise of its activities. Among the latter we note especially the shaking of the tent as the spirit enters and leaves.

● [791] When information was desired regarding missing persons, the whereabouts of the enemy, etc., a spiritualist, who might be either a man or a woman, was asked to invoke the spirit over which he or she had control. The pertinent questions were asked and the spirit would supply the answers. There were two general methods of procedure. The so-called seance could be held either in the big dwelling lodge or in a small structure built for the occasion. Furthermore the performance was more or less elaborate, details differing according to circumstances, the individual spiritualist, and even the "personality" of the spirit invoked. But one invariable feature was the shaking of the tent.

The two accounts which follow will illustrate the general pattern as well as the differences in procedure. The first concerns a seance held in the winter at a time when this particular family

5: Flannery E-5 (1940)1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

787 As to the way in which the power was acquired, Al Chandler 791 explained as follows: "It was customary to take some hair or a [764] relic of a deceased relative after the body decays. (The Gros Ventres did not use to bury their dead like they do now.) Some would have a bone, others a whole lock of hair, and so on. Now if a person happens to take something the spirit likes, the spirit appears and asks: 'Why do you want that rib (or whatever part one takes)?' The man or woman might answer: 'I want you real near me and I want you to help me whenever I ask you.' That person gets in a kind of trance while the spirit talks to him that first time, and the spirit gives him a particular song which he must sing when he wants to invite the spirit."

Apparently some leeway was allowed the individual in accepting the power, if the following information from Al Chandler can be taken as an indication.

"My adoptive father had the rib of an uncle of his who had been a medicine man of some kind. The spirit appeared to my father and asked: 'Why did you take that? What are you going to do with me?' My father replied: 'This is just for myself. I don't want to be the kind of person who owns spirits. If I need you myself I am going to call on you and I want you to help me, but I am not going to make you a public servant.' And that spirit did help him, personally, once or twice, but my father never got tied up in the ropes [as in the case reported by Mrs. Warrior]. By the way, the person who wants to find out something is the one that ties the spiritualist. He can tie the ropes as tight as he wants to and make as many knots as he pleases. The funny part of it is that it is just like the showmen with handcuffs,—the knots sometimes are still tied just like the person who wanted the information tied them originally,—although sometimes the spirit bunched the ropes all up in a mess. The whole tent shakes, too, and the skeptics look real hard, but the spirit will mock them by saying: 'Well, you need not look because you can't see anything anyway!'"

787 In conclusion I think we can say that the rite fits into the general ceremonial pattern of the Gros Ventres, but it was the only ceremony in which the shaking tent was involved. The

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13 ●

787 where the memento was kept. After a while the ghost would
776 come to the keeper, the surviving relative, on successive visits and talk to him (or her), telling him its intention of becoming his ghost helper, and finally putting him in a deep sleep ("killing" him) and saying to him: "I shall be your tsatsawâ'ą." In other words, it was the ghost, not the surviving relative, who regularly took the initiative and broke the ice. In fact, the latter had little or no freedom to accept or refuse.

By the ghost the survivor in trance would be taught the procedure to use for summoning and dealing with the ghost, how to put incense in the smudge place in the person's own lodge, how to lay the pipe, the direction of stem and bowl, what kind of food to put out, and so forth. A key element in such teaching was a special song, given by the ghost to be sung in said rite. One
776 such song, recorded by me in 1940 as sung by The Boy but not
787 yet transcribed, a wordless song sung to the accompaniment of a
● 791 drum, had belonged to a woman named "Woman." She had
[533] been taught it by the ghost of her deceased husband (or brother), Wąwąthana'tca ą (ą's nasalized) "Bad-bad Bull." He had been a medicine man when still living, and this had been his "power" song. His ghost gave it to her both as the song to summon his ghost with and as a doctoring song. She had therefore both ghost-summoning and doctoring power. While that old woman had both a ghost helper and doctoring power, the two things did not necessarily go together in the same person. One could have a ghost helper without having doctoring power, and vice versa. No one lacking a ghost helper could conduct the shaking tent rite, no matter how great power he had received by fasting and crying, and no matter what guardian spirit or spirits he had acquired. After her husband's death the above old woman had not married. People were a little afraid of her because she had this ghost helper. She was a capable old woman, with lots of horses; some of her breed of horses are still (1940) around. She died around 1907.

ą Owing to delays and difficulties under present war conditions in obtaining symbols not in our printer's stock a and e with a stroke above them are here printed in italic.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Other songs, distinct from this summoning or shaking tent rite song, were also given and taught at times by ghost helpers. Two of them, both victory songs, were recorded as sung by The Boy in 1940. These two were given on occasions other than that on which the surviving relative initially acquired his ghost helper.

After all the above teaching was concluded, the ghost of the deceased relative belonged to the survivor and was supposed to come whenever summoned by the latter in the manner the ghost told him while in trance to do. A great many Gros Ventre men and women had guardian spirits and "power" acquired by fasting and crying or otherwise. But fewer individuals, men and women, had ghost helpers. My informants in 1939 and 1940 could recall only four persons in the last two generations or last 70 years or so who had had ghost helpers.

In one case (see first of the two appended stories by Thick) two spirits tried to come to the shaking tent rite conducted by Woman, one bad and the other good, but whether the bad one was one of her deceased relatives or not, she never knew. The people were under the impression that the bad one was an intruder who used to come first and try to "horn in" on the proceedings. No case of a given person clearly having more than one ghost helper was recalled by my informants.

Ordinary "power" could be and often was transferred by the possessor to another person by donation or bequeathment. But a ghost helper never was so transferred and could not be.

It may be added that neither my informants, The Boy and Thick, nor my interpreter, Thomas Main, all highly intelligent and informed men, were at all sure of the etymology of the word tsatsawâ'ᵃ. The Boy thought it might connote the meaning of "slave," "some one who is forced to do things." Thomas Main suggested a possible relationship to tsatsa—"coming, flight"; plus—wa, an old Gros Ventre word, meaning unknown. The two words for ordinary ghosts as such are tsa·k'ᵃ (sing.; pl.; tsa·k'an; a's as u in English but), and bie'te'ᵉ (sing.; pl. bi'eten). Tsatsawâ'ᵃ is used exclusively for ghost helpers, not for an ordinary ghost, or ghosts in general. An ordinary medicine man was called nata'nhehi (a's as u in but), but there was no special name

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

791 787 in use to designate those who had a ghost helper: of him or her it was merely said: "He (or she) has a tsatsawâ·'a."

Persons who had a ghost helper commanded great respect, and were bothered by no one. But capable medicine men on whom the people depended to doctor their sick were also greatly respected. My informants did not feel that either class of practitioners as such had greater prestige than the other.

787 776 In the shaking tent rite, no other spirits than the given ghost had any part, and only the one ghost ever had part in a given performance. Neither guardian spirits, nor the "Little Spirit," nor Ba'a', nor the Supreme Being (I^{x}tcib^{n}'a't^{a}; the a before t nasalized) enters into it in any manner. The summoned ghost came not from any of these or their abodes, but from Basna'^{a}be'^{c}, [775] the Big Sand, whither the souls of all Gros Ventres, except murderers of their own tribesmen, went after death and lived.

The function of the ghost helper was to give knowledge about past, present, future, or distant happenings, and counsel and direction in illness or danger. He imparted information. He did not as such grant power. Some of the many things he would be questioned about were: How a war expedition under way or an impending battle, or an illness, would come out? Where were the enemy located and what were their plans? Who had stolen a certain valuable article and where was it? He was not asked questions about trivial or silly matters, or about the fidelity or infidelity of a wife, although he sometimes volunteered information on such things. If some noted or loved person were critically ill, the ghost helper might be summoned and if it said: "His (the sick person's) soul is already over there," this meant he was going to die.

787 791 Where the services of one who had a ghost helper were desired, the usual procedure was for the client or clients to go to him (or her) and offer him a pipe to smoke—this in accordance with general Gros Ventre practice in enlisting the aid of anyone with any kind of power. Those who had ghost helpers were commonly reluctant or even afraid to summon their helper; after the performance they felt tired and sore. But if given a pipe to call the

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ghost, they could not refuse, at least not easily. And if they accepted the pipe, they committed themselves definitely.

The summoning rite was performed only at night, with the fire out, regardless of the severity of the weather, and in darkness. In the two narratives by The Boy appended infra the ghost helper spoke in the daytime, but had been summoned the preceding night. The rite was ordinarily performed in the performer's lodge, he being hidden out of sight of the clients or spectators behind a blanket-curtain hung up for this purpose to partition off a segment of the lodge. Away from the camp, the rite was sometimes performed in an emergency shelter or a sweat lodge. Before the rite, the clients got ready a pipe and tobacco, a dish of puppy meat (an earlier Gros Ventre delicacy), and other food, and at the appointed time for the rite brought these to the lodge of the ghost-possessor.

The performer was then bound with thongs. The four fingers (thumb too?) of each hand were tied tightly together by interlacing them (somewhat after the technique of wrapped or twined basketry), the hands were tied behind the back, he was rolled in his blanket and tied around securely with thongs, with only his head protruding, and then was deposited behind the blanket partition out of sight of the spectators.

It appears to have been a common practice for the performer to challenge the most skeptical member of the party, and ask him to do the tying. Various stories of skeptics were narrated to me.

On one occasion when the main body of the Gros Ventres, then at war with the Piegan (or Blackfoot), were camped on the east side of Judas River and a small band of them on the west side, the ghost helper of one of the Gros Ventres in the small band told them: "Tell the people to leave this small camp and go across the river to the big one, for the enemy is going to raid tonight." But many of the Gros Ventres of the small band said: "Ghosts are big liars. We are not cowards to run." Of the skeptics many remained, while about half crossed back to the big camp. About dawn, the enemy came as the ghost had predicted and nearly all who had remained at the small camp were massacred.

On another occasion when the Gros Ventres had (or were

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

787 776 about to have) a big battle with the Crows at Marias (at the junction of the Marias with the Missouri), a young man who was present at a ghost helper rite, with the fires out and pitch-darkness in the lodge, and who doubted that a ghost could come back, decided to experiment. When the ghost helper came and the noise was heard, the young man, who was sitting near the door in the darkness where no one else could see he was exposed, pushed his breechclout aside and exposed his genitals, saying to himself: "If this is really a ghost, he will see me and do something about it." All of a sudden the young man let out a yell as if hit by someone, and ran out of the lodge. "You had better run. What is being done here is the real thing," said the ghost to the young fellow, and added to the crowd: "I hit that young fellow's genitals sharply with a stick; that is why he dashed out of the lodge." They then asked the young man: "Is that what happened?" And he replied: "Yes. He hit me good and hard there," and he became a believer.

This emphasis on skeptics in non-narrative and narrative accounts of the Gros Ventre shaking tent rite would suggest that the rope-escaping feat, which we may call for short the "Houdini trick," had the purpose, overt or covert, of creating or confirming faith in the authenticity of the ghostly visitation.

The Houdini trick ordinarily formed part of the Gros Ventre shaking tent rite, but to judge from a couple of the stories appended to this paper, was not absolutely indispensable and could, in emergency, be omitted.

791 787 776 Right after being tied, the ghost-possessor to the accompaniment of his drum sang his summoning song which the ghost had given him. As the ghost helper approached the lodge, a whistling as of wind could be heard, and sometimes at least an owl call.—owls and ghosts are closely associated in Gros Ventre thought, ghosts appearing or speaking as owls. As the ghost came through the top of the lodge, the top would shake violently, and then the whole lodge would shake.

The ghost would then go to the performer and blow on him, and all the sinews and thongs with which he was tied would become untied, and they would be rolled in a ball so knotted and

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

tangled that it could not itself be easily unravelled and would so be thrown out at the spectators, or at the one who had done the tying, especially if he were a skeptic, with some such challenge to him from the ghost as: "You tied up this person. Now see if you can untangle this ball of thong."

Next the pipe would be lit and held up in the darkness in the direction where the ghost was supposed to be, for the ghost to smoke, and the spectators would see the pipe glow up rhythmically every time the ghost drew on it. The people in the lodge would finish smoking this pipe. After this the ghost would ask: "People, why did you send for me?" They would tell him what they wanted to know. If the ghost knew the answer offhand, he would answer at once. If he did not know, he would say: "I don't know. I'll go and find out. You sing that song again [the one the ghost taught the performer when he first chose the latter; no other song was sung] and I'll come back and tell you."

As soon as the ghost went out, a little fire would be made, and the spectators had a smoke. Then they put out the fire and sang the ghost song. They would not have to wait long, "for a ghost travels just about as fast as a man thinks." On returning it would give the information that had been sought of it.

Most ghosts talked a whistling talk. But some—those possessed by Plenty-dry-meat-old-man and by Morning-star, two old men whose ghost helpers were among the greatest ones remembered and whose prophecies always came true—talked just in a natural voice.

After the ghost helper had given the information desired (or perhaps earlier, after his smoke at the beginning; I could not clear up the point) he was offered the food that had been prepared. And the spectators, still in the dark, would hear the tapping of the ghost's fingernails on the plate or other sound of eating as the ghost partook of some of the food.

When he had finished eating, he would say something like: "If you are done with me, I shall go," and he would depart by way of the top of the tent, which would shake violently as it had done when the ghost first arrived in it. After the ghost helper had taken his final departure, the performer would come out

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

791 787 776 [782] from behind the blanketed enclosure, the fire would be re-lighted, the performer would say the prayer customary among the Gros Ventres before all meals to the Supreme Being and other beings, *then he or she and the others present* would eat the food that had remained from the ghost's repast. Finally they would all sit around smoking and chatting a while before dispersing. I failed to gather any information on whether the performer receives any payment or not for his or her services in the rite.

Certain simplifications of the above procedure under emergency conditions as on war expeditions are noted or intimated in a couple of the following four narratives, the first two given by The Boy, the last two by Thick.

Narrative 1

787 776 539 The following story was told by The Boy.

"A certain man had his deceased father as his ghost helper. The ghost helper used to speak Gros Ventre just like living people but in a bass voice. Everybody understood him when they heard him.

"On one occasion the Gros Ventre tribe were camped near the forks of the Teton and Marias Rivers. While there a large group of the men decided to go on the warpath. So they left the main camp, went up the Missouri River and camped that first night at the mouth of Crow Creek where it empties into the Missouri River. When it was dark that night some of the men said: 'Let's offer the pipe to X [the one mentioned above who had the ghost helper; name not given] and ask him to find out whether our prospects on this war party are good or bad.' So they filled up a pipe and went to X, held out the pipe to him and asked him: 'Accept the pipe and call your spirit.'

[791] "X accepted willingly and soon after they had smoked the pipe together they made a shelter where X was to do the spirit-rite. So they tied up X, filled the pipe again, put it there and sang a song four times. When they were singing it the fourth time they heard a voice in the air. The ghost helper arrived and the shelter shook as a lodge would have done in the same rite. When the spirit hit the ground, the ground shook too. The spirit

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The party traveled north and when they arrived at the river they camped there. Some of the men said: 'Morning-star-appears (or Morning-star-is-up: the man with the ghost helper) should be approached to find out what our prospects are on this expedition.' It was agreed among themselves that they would make a sweat lodge. 797 776 539

"Among those invited to sweat was Morning-star-appears. While they were sweating they offered the pipe to him to get him to call his helper. He agreed. Then they all smoked and got ready in the sweat lodge. [79]

"The ghost helper came to the sweat lodge for the possessor was right there. Just before the helper alighted he whistled violently and rapidly. Then the sweat lodge shook and they heard the ghost helper say: 'What do you want? Why did you call me?' They said: 'We are going on the warpath after the Sioux. What success will we have? Is there any danger?' So they offered the lighted pipe to the ghost helper and saw it smoked by him. After smoking, the ghost helper said: 'I'll go and see first before I answer. You go ahead and smoke and after a while sing again.' This they did.

"The ghost helper came back in the usual way, and highly elated, and said: 'All right, I am ready to tell you. First here is a strand of hair of a man (a Sioux) whom you will kill tomorrow. This represents his scalp.' It was wrapped around sagebrush. He continued: 'I have found a big Sioux camp on Beaver Creek [east of the Little Rocky Mountains]. The Sioux are having a big Grass Dance. The one who is having the most fun is the one you are to kill tomorrow. He is a handsome man and has a sword. You will capture that sword when you kill him. Don't be afraid. No Gros Ventre will be killed but two of you Gros Ventres don't look good to me.' They said to the ghost helper: 'Name the two.' But he refused to do so, saying: 'Just don't be afraid. Go ahead to the place where the Sioux are and attack them. Choose now what kind of weather you wish after the fight tomorrow, and I will see that the weather will be that way.' They failed, however, to make a choice. The ghost helper also said: 'Every once in a while tomorrow take

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Ventres' horses except those belonging to one man. This man loaned out his horses as far as they would go around to four of the Gros Ventres who went in pursuit of the Cree. 787 539

"Then that evening two of the other men, one of them my father, approached Bear Old Woman. They filled up a pipe just as you do when you go to someone to doctor you, offered it to the old woman, and asked her to find out from her ghost helper who stole the horses and where they were. Bear Old Woman, who had quite a temper, got angry right away as usual and pushed the pipe away as a sign of refusal. Finally one of the young fellows there, a relative of hers, said: 'Well, let me smoke it,' to force her to accept. She angrily grabbed the pipe and had to go through with the rite. When she took the pipe she rubbed her hands on the ground and rubbed dust on the pipe and offered a prayer before smoking. The pipe was then smoked by her and by the two men who had approached her. 787 539 791 [782]

"Then they began to get things ready. They killed a puppy, singed its hair off at a fire, took its insides out without skinning, quartered it up and boiled it. They put the boiled meat on a plate and got ready some other kinds of food to give to the old woman. Then the two men filled up a pipe and they together with two other men and with a 'servant' went to Bear Old Woman's lodge. On arriving there they set down the plate of dog meat near the head of her bed, the pipe between the incense hearth and the lodge fire, and the other dishes between the lodge fire and the door. [262 252]

"When everything was arranged and Bear Old Woman was still sitting on her bed, she said: 'Whoever is the greatest unbeliever among you, come and tie me up.' One of the four volunteered. Then the old woman got up and went to a place just south of the head of the bed, to a little enclosure made by hanging up a blanket. He hobbled her four fingers (thumb too?) with sinew, interlacing it in and out of the four fingers of each hand. Then he tied her hands together behind her back and also hobbled her feet. She was lying on a robe. He gathered the robe around her and tied her with rawhide thongs until only her head stuck out of the robe. And so he left her lying on her

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

787 back. He returned to his place to the southeast of the old
539 woman and sat down.
791 "Then Bear Old Woman said: 'All right. Start to sing now.' They sang four times without stopping, the song belonging to the old woman's ghost-helper. As they were singing the third time they heard an owl and the old woman said: 'Don't receive *that* spirit. He is bad. Continue singing.' So they continued and just as they finished the fourth time the old woman said: 'That is the one. Receive *that* spirit.' The people around heard these two owls.

787 "When the second owl lighted on top of the lodge, the top
539 shook and the ghost helper spoke: 'What do you want me for?'
776 They said: 'We want you to tell us where our horses are and who has them so we can find them.' The ghost helper answered: 'All right. I'll have to go look for them, but you go ahead and smoke this pipe [the one lying near the incense hearth]. When you have smoked up what is in the pipe, refill it and put it back in the same place and wait.'

"They had barely started smoking when the ghost helper was back again. So they just dumped out what was left in the pipe and refilled it. The helper said: 'Never mind. I am hungry and want to eat.' But they didn't mind him. The spirit then said: 'Your horses are not very far away from here. Your four friends have already recaptured your horses and are bringing them back.' He also said to my father: 'One of your horses has a thick broad rawhide rope around his neck and is dragging it, and that other man's mare's colt will play out on the trip back home.'

"After the helper had said all this, the four men judged that he was through, so they took the pipe and lit it and offered the helper a smoke. The inside of the old woman's lodge was dark as there was no fire. The helper took the pipe from their hands and then they saw it light up rhythmically as a pipe does when it is puffed, and after taking a few puffs the helper said to the men: 'You smoke the rest. I am hungry and want to eat.' They could hear him chewing on the dog meat inside where the woman was. After a while the helper said to the men: 'Here.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

You can eat the rest of this pup.' The meat had been eaten off of one hind leg of the pup so that just the bones were left. Then the ghost helper said: 'I see this foolish old woman lying here helpless.' Then they heard a noise as if the helper had struck the old woman with the flat of his hand and he was heard blowing. The next instant the ghost helper said: 'Here, try to untie this,' and the knotted sinew and rawhide thong hit the chest of the man who had tied her up. 787 539 776

"Then they heard the old woman give a long sigh. She had been in a trance all this time and was just coming out of it. Next the ghost helper said: 'Now I am going to leave you.' And they heard the same racket at the top of the lodge they had heard when he first came in and there was a violent shaking of the whole lodge, especially at the top of it. [791]

"After the ghost helper was gone they kindled the fire again and there was light. Bear Old Woman came out of the enclosure and sat down on the bed and prayed with the bowls of food in her hand. Then she and the men ate and afterwards sat around and smoked and chatted. Then the men went home and told what the spirit had said. [791]

"Next morning all the people in the camp, including the children, got up early and went up on the highest nearby ground to look for the four men coming back with the horses. Towards evening of the day the four Gros Ventres who had gone in pursuit of the thieves brought all the horses back, except the one which, as the spirit had said, had played out and could not stand the trip back. And one of my father's horses had a rope around its neck as the ghost helper had said it had. The pursuers had caught up with the Cree and surprised them asleep in a little swamp covered with grass and brush and so took the horses back home. On the return trip they got lost in a bad storm, went in the wrong direction and not until daylight did they discover their mistake and so had to circle their way back. They had neither eaten nor slept during all the two days and night they had been gone. 787 539

"The above incident occurred just at about the time when the buffalo disappeared from this part of the country [1880's]."

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

NARRATIVE 4

787 Here is the second story told me by Thick.

539 "There was a man by the name of Bird Child who had a ghost
791 helper. Bird Child's wife had four brothers, one of them my father. One evening they filled a pipe and went to Bird Child's lodge to get him to find out from his ghost helper where there would be lots of buffalo and no danger, so they could go there and hunt. When they arrived at Bird Child's lodge they found him absent and only his wife in the lodge. Without invitation they made themselves at home and asked their sister where Bird Child was. She answered: 'I don't know where he is nor when he will be back.'

787 "Being Bird Child's brothers-in-law they decided to take the
776 liberty of using Bird Child's power and ghost helper, and of hav-
539 ing a seance in his absence. They asked their sister where Bird
607 Child's bundle was. She showed them. One of the four brothers took it down. They then agreed who was to be tied up and to represent Bird Child. The one of the four designated agreed. They had him lie down and two of them tied him up tight and laid him in an enclosure made along the side of the tent [as in preceding story]. They were half-fooling, not quite serious. Their sister couldn't say anything: they imposed on her. They even attached the man's hair to the ropes with which they bound him in the robe until only his mouth was visible.

"Then they started to sing and sang the same song four times without stopping. At the end they heard yelling in the air and said: "There he is. He has come for us.' As the ghost helper arrived the tent shook and the helper said: 'Who's that lying back there?' and answered himself: 'Some crazy man or someone with no regard for anybody's rights.' Then they heard a commotion behind the enclosure. The bound brother started to hollow for mercy. Next one of the brothers who had done the tying got hit with all the ropes tangled in a knot.

"Then they heard the bound man being thrown towards the door, and saying: 'Hurry up and make a light before this ghost helper kills me.' The spirit had picked him up and was trying